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GEOGRAPHIC SUPPORT STUDY

SEPARATION OF GREEK CYPRIOT
AND TURKISH CYPRIOT POPULATIONS



CIA/RR GS 64-19

June 1964

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Office of Research and Reports

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FOREWORD

The purpose of this brief study is to describe known and potential schemes for the separation of the Greek and Turkish populations on Cyprus. The report does not assess the likelihood of separation per se, nor does it suggest that separation of the Cypriot populations, should it come about, would or could be based only on geographic, sociological, and economic facts.

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SEPARATION OF GREEK CYPRIOT AND TURKISH CYPRIOT POPULATIONS

This report describes briefly seven alternative proposals that have been or may be considered for the separation of the Greek and Turkish populations on Cyprus. Three of the proposals would require removal of the Turkish Cypriots from Cyprus. The others involve a redistribution of the population within Cyprus.

Of the proposals requiring removal of the Turkish Cypriots from Cyprus, the first involves resettling the Turkish Cypriots within Turkey in return for a cash payment to Turkey. Because its capacity to absorb more population is limited, however, Turkey probably would find this addition of Turkish Cypriots to be a heavy burden. The other two proposals involve exchanging Turkish Cypriots with Greeks from Thrace and the Aegean Islands, respectively. Both would require massive transfers of people, would involve major problems of resettlement, and would disrupt the lives of the people of these Greek lands who are now innocent bystanders.

The four proposals involving redistribution of the population within Cyprus also have weaknesses. One plan, which sets aside the northern part of Cyprus as a Turkish Cypriot area, is closest to the situation that the Turks would like to see develop, but it has serious economic drawbacks. Another proposal, a cantonal arrangement, seems to be administratively impractical. The other two alternatives for partition are more rational on geographic and economic grounds.

Additional proposals are conceivable. For example, it might be possible to relocate the Turkish Cypriots elsewhere than in the eastern Mediterranean region -- say, in Australia or Canada. Such an approach would inject new and greatly complicating factors into the situation. A combination of elements from the proposals described might produce a still more practical scheme. For example, if agreeable to the parties to the dispute, a plan that combined the resettlement of some Turkish Cypriots in Turkey with the relocation of the remaining Turkish Cypriots within Cyprus, with adequate guarantees of their rights, might be feasible. No arrangement that can be achieved would be completely satisfactory, however, and the redistribution of so many thousands of individuals inevitably would create major social and economic problems that would take much time to work out. Furthermore, it is certain that the deep emotional and political feelings associated with Cyprus would not permit the disposition of its problems on the basis of geography, sociology, and economics alone.

In this report the population data for Cyprus are taken from the 1960 census. The population in 1964 is estimated to be slightly larger than it was in 1960. The number of Greeks and Turks in urban and rural

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communities and the amount of land held by the two ethnic groups are tabulated below. Data for the Aegean Islands and Thrace are from the 1951 and 1961 censuses. Although some 1961 census figures are available for these areas, not all the data are broken down into ethnic and urban categories.

Population of Cyprus
1960

	<u>Greeks</u>	<u>Turks</u>	<u>Others</u>
Urban	141,566	41,970	22,447
Rural	300,572	62,350	4,661
	<u>442,138</u>	<u>104,320</u>	<u>27,108</u>
Total population of Cyprus	<u>573,566</u>		

Landholdings on Cyprus
1960

<u>Measurement a/</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>Turkish</u>	<u>Other</u>
Donums b/	3,197,748	2,502,441	652,486
Acres	1,065,915	834,147	217,495
Square miles	1,665	1,303	339
Square kilometers	4,311	3,375	879

a. The total area of Cyprus is 3,572 square miles.

b. One Cypriot donum equals approximately one-third acre.

The following data are tentative and incomplete. The information required for any serious attempt to separate the population of Cyprus must be much broader in scope than the data presented in this report and must be supported by current field study.

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Resettlement of Turkish Cypriots in Turkey
in Return for a Cash Payment to Turkey

Description

The Turkish Cypriots would be moved en masse from Cyprus to Turkey, where they would be resettled. Turkey would be compensated by a cash payment. Thus Cyprus would become ethnically Greek and would either remain independent or be united with Greece.

Background Data

Population to be moved to Turkey:

41,970	Urban Turkish Cypriots
<u>62,350</u>	Rural Turkish Cypriots
104,320	Total

Area involved:

217,495 acres (337 sq mi; 879 sq kms) in Cyprus and approximately the same amount in Turkey, assuming that the amount of land required to resettle the Turkish Cypriots in Turkey would be the same as the present landholdings of the Turkish Cypriots.

Assessment

- Strengths: 1. The minority problem on Cyprus would be eliminated.
 2. Population resettlement, being limited to one minority group, would be minimized.

Weaknesses: 1. Absorption of Turkish Cypriots in Turkey would present major economic difficulties. The last such movement of population into Turkey was the resettlement of some 150,000 Turkish refugees from Bulgaria in 1951-53. In recent years the Turkish population has grown at the high rate of almost 3 percent a year, pressure on agricultural land has increased greatly, and a limit has been reached on new land that can profitably be brought under cultivation. Industrial sectors of the economy have only limited capacity to absorb the urban Turkish Cypriots. Unemployment and underemployment are extensive because of the country's inability to expand economic capacity sufficiently to absorb

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the population growth. These difficulties might be offset to some extent by the size of the cash payment received for the transfer of the Turkish Cypriots and by the cooperation of countries with labor shortages in encouraging the emigration of workers from Turkey.

2. Even if Turkey agreed to this proposal, it seems certain that moving the Turkish Cypriots from Cyprus to Turkey would result in a decline in their living standards.
3. The plan does not take into consideration the possible consequences to the Greek minority in Turkey.

Comments

The amount of the cash payment to Turkey and the question of who would contribute to such a payment are separate problems not dealt with here.

A modification of this proposal involving a referendum might have more chance of success. If, instead of being moved en masse, the Turkish Cypriots were offered the choice of opting for transfer and resettlement in Turkey or remaining as a minority group in a majority-rule situation, many might opt to remain in Cyprus. (The Red Cross reports that less than 20,000 refugees had left their homes by 30 April 1964.) In this case, the number of Turkish Cypriots requiring resettlement would be smaller and therefore easier to accommodate in Turkey and the cash payment to Turkey would be less.

Exchange of Turkish-Owned Part of Cyprus for ThraceDescription

The present Greece-Turkey boundary would be moved westward to include the Greek region of Thrace within Turkey; Cyprus would be annexed to Greece. The Greeks in Thrace would be moved to Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriots would be moved to Thrace.

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Background Data

Population composition in Cyprus, 1960:

442,138	Greek Cypriots
104,320	Turkish Cypriots
546,458	Greek and Turkish Cypriots
27,108	Others
573,566	Total

Population composition in Thrace*:

On basis of religion, 1961

247,016	Greeks (Orthodox)
108,763	Turks (Moslem, Pomach, and Turkish Gypsy)
929	Others
356,708	Total

On basis of urbanization, 1951

77,756	Urban (23.1 percent)
58,607	Semiurban (17.4 percent)
200,591	Rural (59.5 percent)
336,954	Total

Population to be moved:

104,320	Turkish Cypriots to be moved out of Cyprus
247,016	Greeks to be moved out of Thrace
351,336	Total

Population change:

442,138	Greek Cypriots in Cyprus, 1960
247,016	Greeks to be moved from Thrace
689,154	Future Greek population of Cyprus (assuming all Greeks from Thrace are moved to Cyprus)
573,566	Total population of Cyprus, 1960
115,588	Increase

* Although the population of Thrace increased 5.5 percent between 1951 and 1961, the Moslem and co-religionist population (considered to be Turkish) increased only 3.4 percent.

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108,763 Turks in Thrace, 1961
 104,320 Turkish Cypriots to be moved from Cyprus
 213,083 Future Turkish population of Thrace
 356,708 Total population of Thrace, 1961

143,625 Decrease

Area involved:

879 sq kms of land are held by the Turkish Cypriots on Cyprus.
 The proportions of land owned by the Greeks and by the Turks
 in Thrace are not known. The total area of Thrace is 8,534
 sq kms.

Assessment

Strength: The minority problem on Cyprus would be eliminated.

Weaknesses:

1. A large number of people would be involved.
2. Greece would have to cede Greek territory to Turkey.
3. Some Thracian Greeks probably would have to be moved to places other than Cyprus as Cyprus could not accommodate that large an increase in population.
4. Resettlement in Thrace would probably mean a reduced standard of living for Cypriot Turks.

Comments

The Thracian department of Evros, an area of 4,193 sq kms that is adjacent to Turkey, has also been suggested as a possible exchange for Turkish Cypriot land. In 1961 Evros had a population of 157,901, of whom only 6,414 (4 percent) were Turks, Pomachs, or Turkish Gypsies. The other two departments of Thrace (Xanthi and Rodhopi) have more Turks, but they are not contiguous with Turkey. Thrace obviously does not have a Greek/Turkish population ratio that balances the Cypriot ratio. The population composition, by department, of Greek Thrace is as follows:

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Turks (Moslems and Co-Religionists)</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Xanthi	89,613	42,936	47.8
Rodhopi	109,194	59,413	54.0
Evros	<u>157,901</u>	<u>6,414</u>	4.0
Thrace	356,708	108,763	30.4

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Exchange of Turkish-Owned Part of Cyprus for the Aegean IslandsDescription

The Turkish Cypriots would be exchanged for Aegean Greeks. Possibly the Aegean Islands would be annexed to Turkey and Cyprus to Greece.

Background Data

Population composition in Cyprus, 1960:

442,138	Greek Cypriots
104,320	Turkish Cypriots
546,458	Greek and Turkish Cypriots
27,108	Others
573,566	Total

Population composition in Aegean Islands:

477,476	Total population in 1961* (category breakdown not available)
528,766	Total population in 1951

On basis of urbanization

92,863	Urban
157,154	Semiurban
278,749	Rural

On basis of religion

511,568	Greeks (Orthodox)
5,063	Turks (Moslem)
12,135	Others

On basis of language

522,015	Greeks (Mother tongue, Greek)
5,156	Turks (Mother tongue, Turkish)
1,595	Others

* The population of the Aegean Islands decreased 9.6 percent between 1951 and 1961. The relative rate of increase or decrease in the Greek and Turkish populations is not known.

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Population to be moved:

460,278 Probable number of Greeks to be moved from Aegean Islands to Cyprus (assuming that the population category breakdown in 1961 was similar to that of 1951)
104,320 Turkish Cypriots to be moved from Cyprus to Aegean Islands
 564,598 Total

Population change:

	<u>Aegean Islands</u>	<u>Cyprus</u>
Population	477,476 (1961)	573,566 (1960)
Projected population after transfers	121,518	929,524
	<u>355,958</u> Decrease	<u>355,958</u> Increase

Area involved:

878 sq kms Land on Cyprus and owned by Turkish Cypriots
 9,080 sq kms Total area of the Aegean Islands (ownership figures not available)

Assessment

Strength: The minority problem on Cyprus would be eliminated.

Weaknesses:

1. A large number of people would be involved.
2. Because Cyprus could not accommodate the increase in population, some Greeks would have to go elsewhere.
3. Greece would have to cede national territory to Turkey.
4. The standard of living for Turkish Cypriots probably would be reduced. Largely because of poor economic opportunities, 51,290 persons emigrated from the Aegean Islands between the 1951 census and the 1961 census.

Comments

The Department of Lesvos, within the Aegean Islands and lying just off the Turkish coast, contains 2,135 sq kms and had a population of 154,795 in 1951. Statistics are not available for a breakdown of totals by Greeks and Turks, urban and rural, amount of agricultural land, etc.

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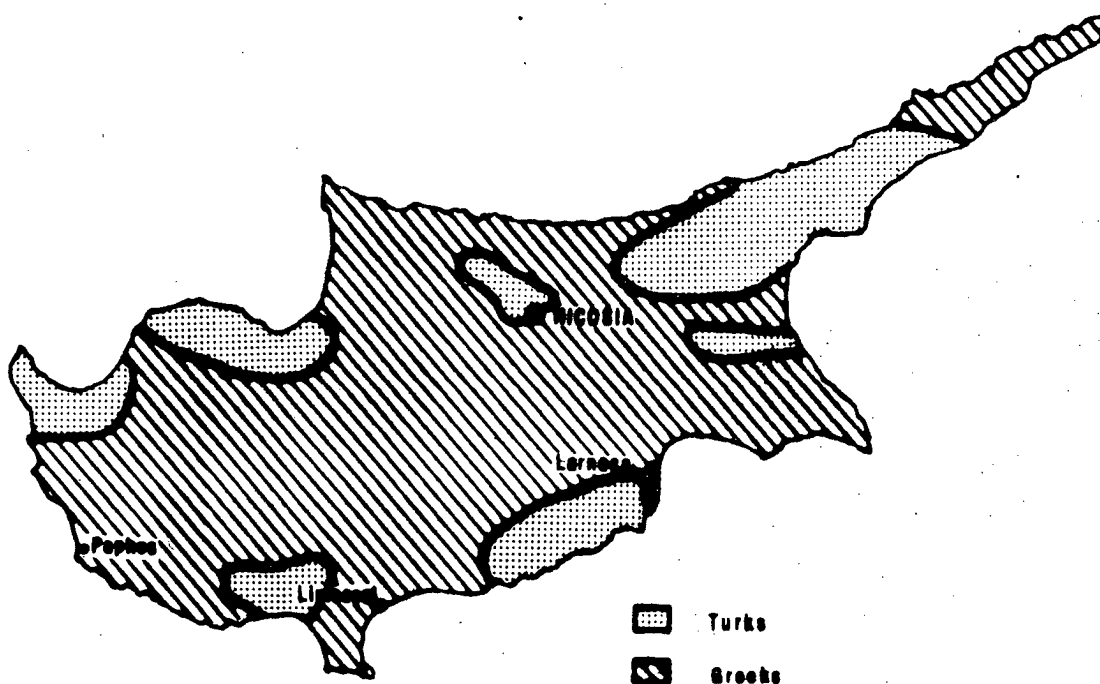
The Dodecanese Islands in the southern part of the Aegean Islands have been mentioned sometimes as a possible resettlement area for Cypriot Turks. The population of the Dodecanese in 1951 included 105,687 Greeks and 15,792 Turks. The Greek population of the Dodecanese is almost entirely rural. The Turkish population of Cyprus that would be moved to the Dodecanese includes 63,350 rural and 41,970 urban dwellers. The exchange would be complicated by the size of the landholdings in the Dodecanese, which are even smaller than those in Cyprus, and by the more economically advanced status of Cyprus.

The island of Rhodes, which also has been mentioned in connection with a possible exchange of populations, has an area of 1,400 sq kms but a limited amount of agricultural land. In 1951 the island supported a population of only 58,946, including sizable Turkish and other non-Greek minorities in the city of Rhodes.

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Partition Alternative ADescription

This plan was the original Turkish Cypriot suggestion made to the British in London in late January 1964. On the basis of existing population concentrations, it delineates separate and unconnected areas which might be considered Turkish cantons.

Background Data

Population composition:

Very difficult to estimate without more precise information on the boundary locations. The proposed boundaries seem to have been carefully drawn in some places, but the question arises whether lines in other places were based on guesses or calculations.

Population to be moved:

Very difficult to estimate. The total number of persons could be as low as 80,000 if no urban populations were transferred, or as high as 198,000 if urban transfers were included.

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Population change:

Cannot be estimated without more information on (1) whether urban as well as rural population would be transferred and (2) where the boundary would be drawn through urban and suburban areas of Nicosia, Famagusta, and Larnaca.

Area involved:

Cannot be calculated.

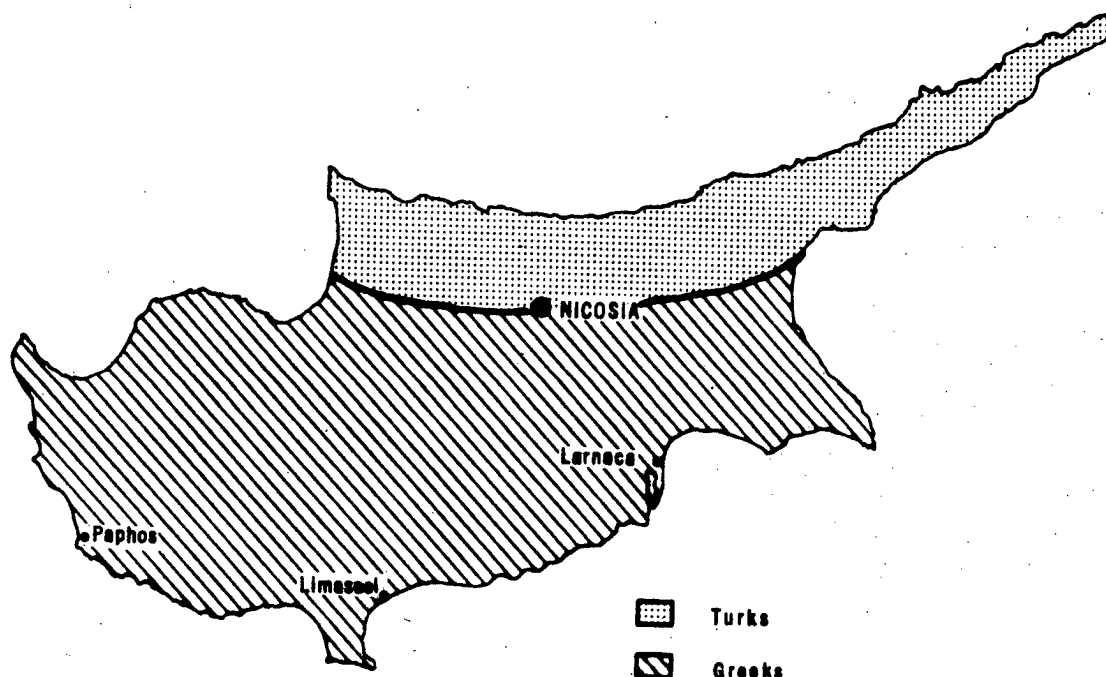
Assessment

Strength: If no transfers of urban population were involved, fewer people would be dislocated than by other proposals.

Weaknesses: 1. The plan is very difficult to arrange politically. The Turkish Cypriots may have realized this inasmuch as they withdrew the suggestion the day after they made it.

2. Scattered enclaves of solidly Turkish Cypriot population in the midst of Greek Cypriot population probably would perpetuate the present difficulties. Additional difficulties, such as the problem of Turkish Cypriots traveling between Turkish enclaves but across Greek territory, would be created.

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Partition Alternative BDescription

It supersedes the cantonal suggestion (Alternative A). Under Alternative B the Turkish Cypriots would have the northern part of the island as defined by a line drawn between the west and east coasts through Nicosia.

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Population composition:

91,012	Greek Cypriots (88,641 rural; 2,371 urban)
<u>40,973</u>	Turkish Cypriots (18,148 rural; 22,825 urban, including 22,130 who live in Nicosia and suburbs)
131,985	Total

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Population to be moved:

91,012 Greek Cypriots to be moved out of area (of whom
2,371 are urban)
63,247 Turkish Cypriots from outside area to be moved
in (of whom 19,145 are urban)
154,259 Total number of persons to be moved (if some of
urban Turks from Nicosia and suburbs had to be
moved north of the line they would have to be
added to this total)

Population change:

131,985 Present population (by village count)
104,320 Population after transfer
27,665 Population decrease in northern part of island

Area of private landholdings involved:

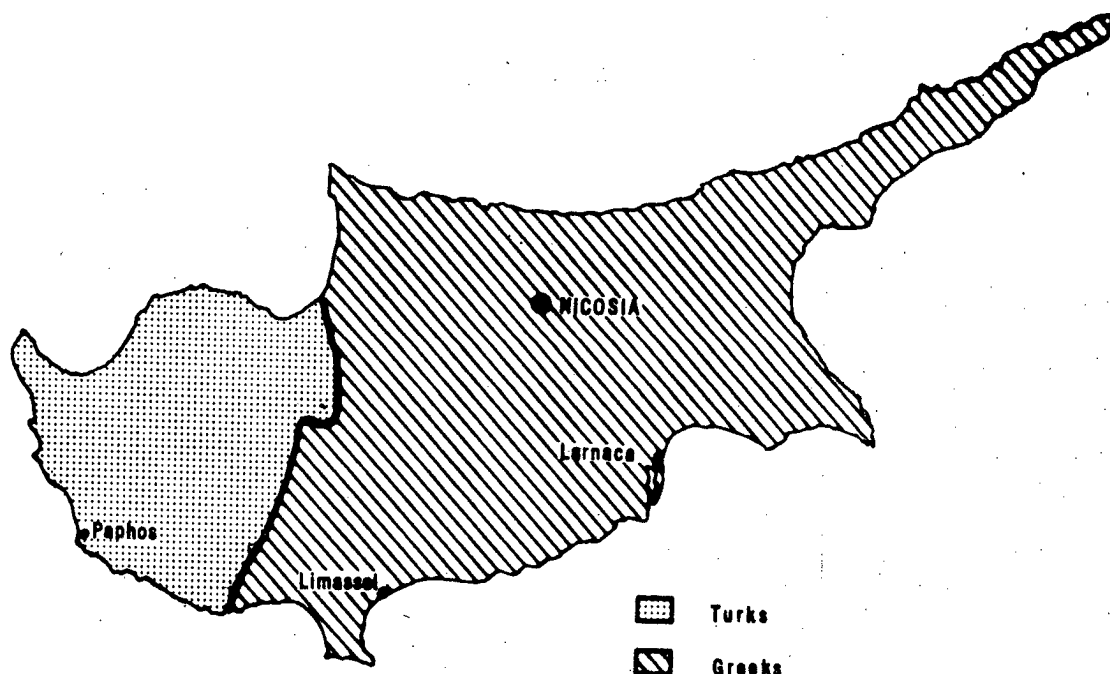
740,408 Donums owned by Greek Cypriots
196,419 Donums owned by Turkish Cypriots
936,827 Total donums (317,275.6 acres; 487.9 sq mi;
785.2 sq kms)

Assessment

Strength: The Turkish area would be nearest to the Turkish
mainland.

Weaknesses: 1. Alternative B allows insufficient accommodation
for 41,000 urban Turkish Cypriots.
2. The solution is not equitable; the Turkish
Cypriots increase their holdings from 652,000
to 936,000 donums and probably would get more
irrigated land than they own now.
3. The Turkish Cypriot area has almost no developed
mineral resources.
4. The boundary is drawn without regard to physical
features of the landscape.

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Partition Alternative CDescription

A hypothetical separation of the two populations in two areas is based on drainage divides. Consideration is given to distribution of population (as of 1961 census), minerals, and water resources.

Background Data

Population composition:

73,521	Greek Cypriots (67,307 rural; 6,214 urban)
<u>23,221</u>	Turkish Cypriots (20,370 rural; 2,851 urban)
96,742	Total

Population to be moved:

73,521	Greek Cypriots to be moved out (of whom 6,214 are urban)
<u>81,099</u>	Turkish Cypriots from outside the area to be moved in (of whom 39,119 are urban)
154,620	Total

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Population change:

96,742	Present population (by village count)
<u>104,320</u>	Population after transfer
7,578	Population increase in western part of island

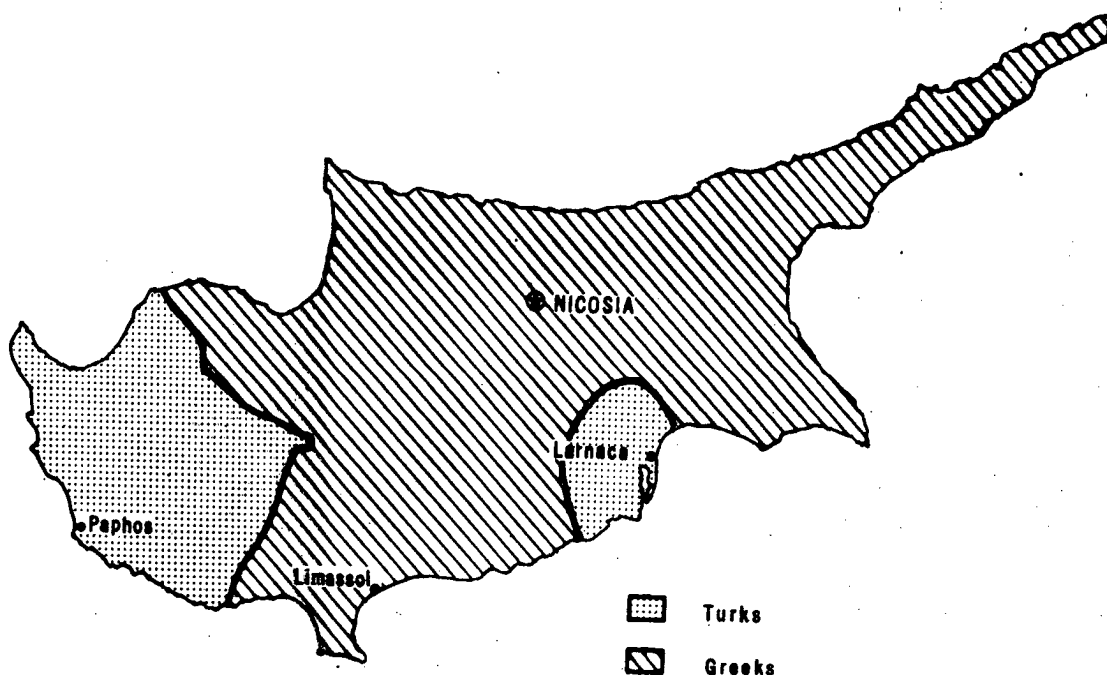
Area of private landholdings involved:

570,967	Donums owned by Greek Cypriots
<u>184,793</u>	Donums owned by Turkish Cypriots
755,760	Total donums (251,920 acres; 393.6 sq mi)

Assessment

- Strengths:
1. Boundaries are based on drainage divides and define units that can be readily administered. These boundaries provide for relatively easy control of the source of water (for household and industrial uses and irrigation). Being located on divides the boundaries generally pass through thinly settled areas, thus reducing the opportunities for confrontations. The boundaries are also drawn to distribute equitably the mineral wealth of the island.
 2. The number of Cypriots to be moved is about the same as in Alternative B, which the Turkish Cypriots suggested.
 3. The area of privately owned land more closely approximates that of the land now owned by the Turkish Cypriots than does the area involved in Alternative B.
- Weaknesses:
1. A large number of urban Turkish Cypriots would have to be accommodated in rural areas.
 2. There are few large areas level enough for farming.
 3. The amount of irrigable land that would be available to the Turkish Cypriots is probably less than they now have.
 4. The Turkish area lacks a suitable port.

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Partition Alternative DDescription

Like Alternative C, this plan separates the two populations in areas based on drainage divides; but unlike Alternative C, Alternative D has two separate areas for the Turkish Cypriots. The eastern area, near Larnaca, is adjacent to a British base, where jobs may be available.

Background Data

Population composition:

70,486	Greek Cypriots
20,558	Turkish Cypriots
91,044	Total

Population to be moved:

70,486	Greek Cypriots to be moved out (of whom 6,214 are urban)
83,762	Turkish Cypriots from outside the areas to be moved in (of whom 35,061 are urban)
154,248	Total

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Population change:

91,044	Present population (by village count)
<u>104,320</u>	Population after transfers
13,276	Population increase in two Turkish areas

Area of private landholdings involved:

582,550.36	Donums owned by Greek Cypriots
<u>182,615.66</u>	Donums owned by Turkish Cypriots
765,166.02	Total donums (255.059 acres or 398.529 sq mi)

Assessment

- Strengths:
1. Like Alternative C, the boundaries are based on drainage divides and define units that can be readily administered.
 2. The amount of privately owned land more closely approximates the amount of land now owned by the Turkish Cypriots than does the area involved in Alternative B.
 3. One of the two Turkish areas is adjacent to a British base area where cash-paying jobs are available.
 4. Larnaca, a district town, would provide additional opportunities for some urban Turkish Cypriots.
 5. Larnaca also would provide some port facilities for the Turkish Cypriots.
 6. The number of persons moved is about the same as in Alternatives B and C.

Weakness: The resettlement of the Turkish Cypriots in two areas not connected with each other would require an agreement concerning transportation and communications rights between the two areas.

